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Re-imagining the country-of-origin effect
—
A promulgation approach

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Re-imagining the country-of-origin effect

—

A promulgation approach

Structured Abstract

Purpose: The country-of-origin effect (COO) has, as a research domain, suffered from several theoretical and methodological problems and tendencies including an incomplete conceptualization of its constituent components. The objectives of this conceptual study are to first problematize the concept in extant literature and to consequently propose a reconceptualization of the concept.

Design/methodology/approach: As part of lateral promulgation, we employ theoretical and methodological ideas from other disciplines such as psychology, ethnography and geography to problematize the present conceptualization of COO in extant literature to reveal research possibilities relevant to, but underrepresented or absent in, COO research.

Findings: This paper identifies several central theoretical and methodological problems and reveals that (1) COO is not necessarily linear and alternative modes of engagement with consumption need to be considered; (2) many of these problems can be addressed by alternative methodologies; and (3) COO operates at the level of symbolic orders that require a further engagement with the role of place in human experience.

Research implications: The findings suggest that in future research (1) field experiments be considered to resolve some of the methodological artefacts that have hampered past research; (2) qualitative methods be applied to uncover unexpected uses of place association beyond being mere quality proxies; and (3) alternative areas of relevance, such as macro-level trade and exports from emerging economies, be entertained.

Originality/value: The paper's approach to problematizing and refining extant knowledge enable it to promulgate new knowledge and research directions for a research area that has historically suffered from a tendency to be self-referential.

Keywords

Country of origin effect, Country image, Product origin, Branding, Place mythology, Promulgation, Product geography

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5 **Introduction**
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7 It has been more than 50 years since scholars like Ernst Dichter and Robert Schooler first delved
8 into the issue now widely known as the “country-of-origin effect” (COO). This milestone
9 coincides with the 30-year anniversary of Levitt's (1983) highly influential article in the Harvard
10 Business Review that popularized the concept of “globalization.” Despite numerous claims since
11 then that globalization has reduced the importance of national boundaries, COO, which finds its
12 raison d’être in the existence of those boundaries, albeit in their more abstract form, is not waning
13 as a field of study. The recent nationalistic economic measures put forth by U.S. President Trump
14 and the potential trade wars they augur (Ewing, 2018, NYT March 9) provide further support to
15 the continuing significance of the concept.
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24 Interestingly, the number of transnational legal devices and agreements such as NAFTA and
25 GATT, which among other effects help to protect and promote origin labelling, has surged in
26 recent decades. In 1987, Tan and Farley had already reported that COO was one of the most
27 studied topics in international marketing. About ten years ago, Heslop et al., (2008) observed
28 there were more than 800 scholarly publications dedicated to reporting studies in this area. A
29 review today would probably find more than a thousand journal articles dealing in some way with
30 COO. In spite of the impressive volume of publications on the topic and the seemingly consistent
31 finding that origin matters (Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999), COO research as a whole is
32 frequently said to be suffering from a variety of problems, including methodological
33 shortcomings (Samiee et al., 2005), a lack of conceptual clarity (Bloemer et al, 2009) and a
34 tendency to be atheoretical (Samiee, 2011). Another problem relates to what constitutes the basis
35 of the call for paper for this present issue, namely the need “to get away from the narrow
36 conceptualization of ‘COO’ in general and from the notion of ‘origin’ specifically, and to
37 consider instead the bigger picture of place-brand associations and the role that place image plays
38 in consumer behaviour and brand strategy.” To that end, and against the backdrop of the
39 aforementioned issues, this paper proposes two interlinked objectives.
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54 ***Re-conceptualizing the construct***
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The first main objective, which swims against the field's narrow methodological trend, is to effectively problematize the present conceptualization of COO in extant literature. This is accomplished through a novel approach that first clarifies some of the conceptual bases of the effect and then dissects its different components with the help of a "problematizing" lens. We thus contextualize the historical inception of the term "COO," to then critically scrutinize concept across the disciplines of marketing, psychology and geography. Effectively, we take a critical approach primarily through the practice of promulgation (see Kozinets, 2012), which not only identifies but also subsequently adopts and contextualizes knowledge from disciplines outside of the subject area, with the ultimate goals of expanding knowledge and providing novel practice to the field.

In line with the question raised for this special issue about the extent to which buyers relate images of places to the brands they encounter in the marketplace, we postulate the premise of our study as follows:

The phenomenon of "country-of-origin effect" pertains to a situation in which the perceived characteristics of a given commodity are influenced by the perception of the commodity in relation to a place.

Here, we use carefully chosen terminology to define the relevant field of study. For example, we employ the umbrella term "commodity" to encompass product/service/brand, just as we consider consumption a process of consumer engagement with the commodity. This perspective is important because it sets the tone for the first half of the study, which deals with the approach and definition of the objects, processes and interactions involved as the effect emerges. In this paper, we explore and discuss these constituent factors with which any study of COO invariably must engage, even if only implicitly.

Our detailed critical scrutiny of COO discusses some of its core mis-conceptualizations and long-standing issues since its inception. More specifically, there has been a methodological over-emphasis on 'origin' which, in some cases, is problematically defined - since it is derived from spatial configurations of value chains as opposed to perceived commodity-place association - as a

proxy for quality to the detriment of a broader agenda. Such an agenda would encompass the nature and understanding of associations and the problem of circumscribing the outcome of the effect of association on consumers through consumer behaviour studies.

Various studies have criticised the field and pointed out its various shortcomings (see Magnusson et al. 2011; Bloemer et al; 2009; Samiee et al., 2005; Bilkey and Nes, 1982). These findings are problematic because they explain the impasse in which the field finds itself. We argue that many of these issues pointed out by prominent scholars have not yet been effectively addressed, but also that they do not constitute insurmountable obstacles: they can be tackled by re-imagining the concept. Here, we contribute to this process through the use of a promulgation approach to go beyond a mere epistemologically coherent system. The goal is to arrive at a point at which an array of heterodox trajectories materialize as venues for cross fertilization, thus shedding light on new understandings of COO in a research space that needs fresh air to avoid theoretical and methodological asphyxia. Subsequently, in this paper, we re-imagine the COO concept and expand knowledge on its application by justifying the need for alternative approaches that enable finding why and how consumers are affected by commodity-place associations.

Unpacking COO

This conceptual re-imagining and its related intrinsic components bring us to the second objective of this paper, which is to call for the re-conceptualization of COO within the contemporary discursive field. It is important to first establish workable limits for the objects and entities that are relevant to the understanding of COO, primarily in their capacity as recipients of the altered perception implied in the effect. A critical examination of COO thus requires that we unpack its components: the place, the origin (association), and the “effect” itself. We then examine the nature of origin and the association it entails, a complex issue that is central to brands and global trade, with its corollary blurring of boundaries and complex geographically dispersed value-chains. We subsequently critically discuss the particularity of places to explore how they have come to constitute such potent symbolic entities and how a better understanding of place further clarifies COO. Finally, we present a synthesis of the identified lateral theoretical contributions in the form of a number of core explanations to support a new conceptual framework, which in its entirety emphasizes the formative role of the conceptually re-imagined effect in geographical

knowledge as related to commodities, or a “product geography” (L’Espoir Decosta & Andéhn, 2018).

Figure 1 summarizes the different components of COO that emerged on the backbone of extant problematics resulting from several decades of its conceptualization and intensified by methodological needs to investigate its core components aimed at isolating them from each other. In that sense, we stress a critical view that guides this article: at issue is not so much what the COO effect is in general, but how research and practice actually understand, study and use its key constructs and associated relationships. To that effect Figure 1 and Table 1 distinguish between the two approaches. Figure 1 summarizes the main components and relationships that emerge from several decades of COO research and serves as a general conceptual guide for the sections that follow. The letters corresponding to each part of the figure are then linked to Table 1, which appears later in the conclusions section. The table crisply summarizes key points of the granular critical approach we take to better understand COO and leads to a detailed discussion of the arguments and highlights the major implications for future research.

FIGURE 1 HERE

We begin by examining the aspect of the phenomenon that ultimately forms consumers’ attitudes and is particularly relevant in marketing literature: the consumption of the commodity, itself the object affected by COO.

The perception of the placed commodity

The problem of origin in COO

A workable premise underlying the deconstruction of a phenomenon like COO is based on the following questions: “What is affected by COO?” and “What is the nature of this effect?” Answering these questions would help outline matters pertaining to the construct, starting with

the object of the effect: the commodity. In Schoolers' (1965) seminal study on made-in labels in Guatemala, which is generally considered the first instance of systematic inquiry on COO, a number of garments and juice drinks were evaluated in a controlled experiment in which the origin labelling was manipulated. The study provided *ceteris paribus* a strong initial case for the importance of perceived origin in terms of internal test validity. In many ways, this study set a standard for country of origin research that is still valid and a key lesson learned from it is worth repeating: whether the origin associated with a product is given as one of its attributes or assumed, and whether it is correct or not, it becomes part of how consumers perceive, engage with and come to understand and evaluate it; therefore, insofar as the origin attribute is concerned consumers' understanding of the object stems from their prior knowledge of places and any notions stemming from them.

Determining consumers' perception of COO is significant because it can lead to the emergence of relevant information. For instance, the scattering of value-chains across several countries, which has become commonplace in recent decades, does not reduce the relevance of COO as long as consumers still perceive commodities to be associated with places. A garment designed in Spain, made of fabric produced in Bangladesh and sewn in China is still perceived as French by an overwhelming majority of consumers if it is emblazoned with the right symbols, such as the text "Louis Vuitton," coupled with the brand's expected colours and patterns. Because the focus is on perceived effect, it is possible to conclude that such a "French" identification not only transcends the legal basis for determining origin but also calls into question the viability of an objective basis for such determination. Instead, in this case, origin is equated to what is implied by the symbolism of the brand, the origin of which is naturally ephemeral. In fact, it is easier for consumers to associate a brand with a place (often a country), as brands are symbols rather than the physical objects with which they are associated and their implacement often strongly implied by their name and connotations. Here, we draw on Tuan's (1977) definition of place as a discrete delimitation of a volume of space through the assignment of meaning to this space. The "implacement" of the object, which refers to the device to describe the property of an object that not only captures its being "in place" but also the effect it exerts on its host coordinates (Casey, 1993), is consequently tenuous, and not related to spatiality in any absolute sense. As Thakor and Kohli (1996; 28) put it: "...the actual place that the brand originates from is almost irrelevant,

even if it were possible in an era where corporations have dispersed their functions across national boundaries to identify such a place. Consumers' perceptions may differ from reality because of ignorance."

And yet, a wealth of studies on the fundamentals of origin identification has been published to date. These studies have explored which facet of origin, or which part of the value chain, acts as the most precise proxy for origin identification. Examples of this division of value chains include testing for the country of parts, of assembly, of design, of brand origin, of corporate headquarters and of manufacture (e.g., see Chao, 1993; Thakor and Kohli, 1996). Reviews and studies appear to support country-of-brand origin as the most accurate predictor of the origin generally attributed to a commodity. Thus, in the context of COO, as stressed by Papadopoulos (1993), "COO", "origin", or "made-in" is "beside the point" (p. 14) and is not, and never was, a question of the spatial configuration of value chains but is rather a question of which cue the consumer uses for inference). Origin, in the strict sense of the word, simply applies to COO as a proxy for the relationship with a place. In effect, the label country-of-association (COA) (see And  hn and L'Espoir Decosta, 2016) may more accurately represent COO. Companies often market their products trying to associate them to a specific place and in so doing run the risk of being perceived as misleading the consumer if the origin indication is revealed to be less than credible (Aichner et al., 2017). This does not mean that a suggested origin is not important: in effect, it points to COO operating first and foremost in a symbolic world. The spatial configuration of value-chains of a given product is simply "beside the point" unless a place (whether its role is shown as related to a commodity's design, manufacture, assembly, parts, and so on) is leveraged as a cue for association by the consumer, a state of affairs that is clearly evident in how place association is evoked at the level of managerial intervention (Aichner, 2017). Naturally, consumers can also infer association without any rationale derived from the location of production facilities or an equivalent "objective" basis for determining origin.

The problem of the objects affected by COO

Another problem related to which aspect(s) prompts COO is the identification of the instances to which the term applies. In earlier studies, the commodity associated with a place was almost invariably a product (Schooler, 1965; Bilkey and Nes, 1982; Verlegh and Steenkamp, 1999).

There are more recent empirical demonstrations that the effect also applies to services (Javalgi et al., 2001), as well as to other less tangible commodities in the form of brands (Thakor and Kohli, 1996; Keller, 1993). Indeed, as in the earlier Louis Vuitton example, a brand is the case in which COO can be most readily leveraged. Consumers do not necessarily know where products are from (Samiee et al, 2005), nor do they seem to care in most situations (Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2008), but they often perceive brands as having strong associations to specific places (Andéhn and L'Espoir Decosta, 2016), even if those associations sometimes have a limited basis in reality (Magnusson et al. 2011). Ultimately, consumers are affected by origin cues even if they are hesitant to admit it (Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2017). In some cases these associations do not go beyond a linguistic cue, such as the brand name. This could be connected to the increasing importance of brands as tools for understanding consumption in general. Although a brand may be the most commercially relevant instance of commodities to evoke origin, virtually anything that can be "placed," i.e., associated with a place, may be impacted by it. Anything, from products to people, legislation, and political ideologies, can be marketed through its association with a place.

There has been further exploration in the more relevant marketing context of the relationship between the premises of COO and their application to specific categories of commodities. Again, Schooler's study (1965) demonstrates how general attitudes, "...predilections and biases [...] rooted in history or circumstances and directed for or against the whole country" (p. 394) influence product evaluations. Generally, early studies on COO used this approach to COO as a unified image of a country. In contrast, more recent studies have considered origin to be contingent on the category of commodities under evaluation, beyond the plethora of other potential moderators. Roth and Romeo (1992) were among the first to describe the property determining the value of the origin of products from a particular country as contingent on the "fit" between the two. Amine (2008) suggested that certain country images more readily lend themselves to infer positive connotations to either hedonic or utilitarian consumption, thus extending fit to a higher level of abstraction. Other studies have compared the relative impact of a consumer's feelings about a country in general (basic country image), about products from a specific country (product-country image) (Papadopoulos and Heslop, 1993) and products belonging to a specific category from a specific country (category-country image) (Andéhn et al.,

2016a). And  hn et al. (2016a) found that attitudes regarding the image that corresponds more closely to the specific product or brand are the strongest predictor of attitudes toward the commodity itself. From extant knowledge, it follows that the extent to which COO can be used to market commodities is largely a matter of matching place to commodity categories.

The problem of determining association

The issues of when and how COO exert an effect are discussed in the literature to date mainly as a matter of moderating factors. This obfuscates, at least in part, the issue of precisely what is affected by the association to place that COO entails. The dependent variables (DVs) of choice have generally been perceived quality (see Josiassen et al., 2013), brand equity (And  hn and L'Espoir Decosta, 2016) and/or purchase intentions (Josiassen et al., 2013). Again, much like Schooler's (1965) study, most COO studies compare different origins for products and focus on how some origins can be used to evoke a positive response from consumers (Bilkey and Nes, 1982). Some studies, however, have examined situations in which the origin of a product is found to exert a negative effect on the DV. When understood as associated places to a commodity, countries with a more negative reputation in the Western context, such as Zimbabwe (Dakin and Carter, 2010) or Russia (Johansson et al., 1994) cause consumers to express a more negative attitude toward the commodity.

This application of a linear holistic property of commodities in COO research risks oversimplifying the properties that association to a place can affect. Schooler's (1965) DV was a measure of perceived quality, as this was a central concern in COO research (see Bilkey and Nes, 1982). Indeed, Peterson and Jolibert (1995) found that two-thirds of an impressive selection of articles centred on COO used quality perceptions as the key DV. Other common DVs include consumer attitudes, or proxies such as brand equity (And  hn and L'Espoir Decosta, 2016). As attitudes are known to be imperfect in their capacity to predict behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), several studies have also employed the arguably more appropriate measure of purchase intentions (e.g., Josiassen et al., 2013). Regardless of the DV(s) employed, the implication is that association to place exerts an influence on a sense of "goodness" that can be captured as a form of "halo" (Han, 1989), or by what Zeithaml (1988) conceptualized as a multitude of dimensions boiled down to a single estimate of value.

The fact that a large proportion of COO research uses this type of value is problematic for several reasons. First, value, or “goodness,” is almost invariably considered a linear property, ignoring the potential for thresholds in attitude formation and, more importantly, in decision making. Second, the possibility of a basis for decisions beyond the property of “goodness,” such as engagement with a culture that is specific to a certain situation and where quality or any general account of attitude is less important, is completely overlooked. Furthermore, even an estimate of “goodness” may be derived from several means of sourcing the act to consume. As Brijs et al. (2011: 1266) put it: “The way in which country-image functions as an antecedent of product attitude remains problematic, in that existing literature lacks an overarching theory that can integrate isolated efforts to explain country-image effects. In general, three types of effects or mechanisms emerge: cognitive, affective, and normative.”

However, there are studies that have extended COO beyond a general “goodness” and examined these affective and normative aspects of the effect. These studies have remained in the realm of construing the effect as a linear property, simply replacing quality with an alternative DV. The more intricate situations in which COO comes into play are also often ill-suited for study based on group-level examination, regardless of refinement through the use of moderators (see Andéhn and L’Espoir Decosta, 2016; Peterson and Jolibert, 1995). Instead, we could better circumscribe country-brand association by employing the broader scope of qualitative methods and interpretivist approaches.

There have already been forays in the literature into qualitative interpretations of COO, which have enhanced our understanding of its “effect”. For instance, in his paper on the mythology of Swedish fashion, and drawing largely from McCracken (1988), Östberg (2011) observes that the properties of mythological meaning entice consumers and that through “... advertising it is as if these properties come to reside in the consumption objects” (p.223). Similarly, Kravets (2012) explains that the marketing of vodka in a Russian context combines “...social imagination about power, nationhood, and Russianness” (p. 361). Neither of these observations regarding the relevance of origin can be adequately captured under a single, linear, self-reported DV in the way that the overwhelming majority of COO research has been conducted to date. This is not to say

that estimates of consumer attitudes through quantitative measures are meaningless. However, there are more ways in which COO can influence consumption. Thus, a consumer whose attitude toward Russia is largely negative and who holds an understanding of its vodka as of inferior quality may nonetheless consume Russian vodka brands as a play on mythologies of the country's culture. In this case, it is evident that a general assessment of quality may be a far more problematic predictor of consumer choice than the overwhelming majority of COO research implicitly assumes.

More generally, consumer preference may be guided by factors that would be exceptionally challenging to capture by any generalized monolithic measurement (see Featherstone, 1987). This observation highlights the potential contribution from approaches that are considered as part of Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) (see Arnould and Thompson, 2005) which, to date, have not been employed to comprehensively explore COO. For instance, according to Brijs et al. (2011), only four studies have used semiotics to examine COO. This paucity can surely be attributed to the philosophical divide of the ontological, epistemological and methodological nature among researchers, with the COO simply landing firmly on only one side of this division. Nevertheless, the field would benefit from truly new insights if it would be approached using a wider range of methodologies.

In short, this critical conceptual discussion of the more multi-faceted appraisal of the commodity, which is the first constituent factor affected by COO, suggests that effect is not necessarily linear. The influence of COO is potentially far more complex than generally portrayed in extant research. Quality as an independent variable cannot, on its own, fully explain the impact of COO. Even if the concept of quality is extended to cover all of the variables identified by, for instance, Zeithaml (1988), there are still alternative modes of engagement with consumption that draw from other motivations that come into play directly in the context of COO. We therefore propose that a thorough examination of situations in which "origin" does not have the anticipated effect should employ both qualitative exploratory methods, non-cross-sectional data generation designs and nonlinear (for instance, threshold-based) analytical models to provide a more nuanced understanding of how the construct can function as a driver of consumption. A case in point is when COO, as the basis of cultural engagement beyond quality or any similar generalizable

holistic property, is more of a situational factor with sometimes unexpected results. For instance, how can we capture how the country images of America and Japan intersect to enable certain communities to feel strongly about motorcycles branded as inherently related to either place? Understanding origin in terms of when consumers infer a place association and what it actually means could be extremely challenging and therefore requires further exploration of its central premise, namely, the association to place. The following section elucidates to some extent the process by which consumers relate to and are impacted by place associations by promulgating findings from research literature in the field of psychology.

The nature of association in COO

The problem of the mechanics of association

The perceived effect of COO is entirely contingent on a perceived association between a commodity and a place. However, the mechanics of this association have rarely been discussed in scholarly work in this area. The recent work of Andéhn and L'Espoir Decosta (2016) empirically demonstrates that the evaluative relevance of the impact of COO is moderated by the strength of association between a place and a brand. The study extends the concept that brand associations are variable rather than having binary properties (French and Smith, 2013), and that this variability influences the extent to which these associations affect evaluation. This construal of associations as determinants of brand equity is derived from a frequently cited account of Keller (1993), who, after drawing largely on the theory of memory as spreading activation in cortical structures (see Andersson, 1983), suggested that consumer-based brand equity should be considered the summative influence of the associations held to a brand in memory. Keller (1993) considered COO as one case of such associations. As the issue has not been explored at length in extant COO literature, there has been little debate nor a plurality of perspectives regarding the nature of this association.

More particularly, the literature has not stayed abreast of recent developments in the psychology of judgement and decision making. Indeed, the field has been quite selective about which aspects of novel approaches from other disciplines to adopt and adapt. As such, perspectives generally put forth either do not address the issue or adhere to the dominant view based in the psychology

of memory. In terms of the theoretical development of the role association plays in the context of COO, it is useful to fully consider this psychological perspective and its implications to allow the comparison of alternative perspectives. With this in mind, we engage in direct promulgation (Kozinets, 2012) of knowledge from the field of psychology to COO. Beyond explanations by the Associative Network Model of the structure of memory (Anderson, 1983) and thus consumers' brand associations (Keller, 1993), the major lesson learned from that tradition of research is that it has generally downplayed the importance of conscious deliberation and has referenced declarative memory, or memories we are consciously aware of in decision making (Fitzsimons et al., 2002). Simply put, research that has until now exclusively emphasized conscious processes in the context of decision making, or attitude formation, as related to COO, is akin to "barking up the wrong tree."

The problem of learning without conscious recognition

Even though the relevance of product or brand origin is often framed in the context of recognition accuracy (see Samiee et al., 2005) this may be one of the dead ends of the research area. Interestingly, a growing number of psychologists have highlighted the importance of non-conscious processes not only in memory formation but also in consumer decision making (see Fitzsimons et al., 2002 for a review). For instance, in the relevant context of learning, there is significant evidence suggesting that complex patterns of association can be learned and affect decision making without the learner ever being conscious of having adopted this knowledge (Whittlesea and Wright, 1997). The fact that learning occurs primarily without conscious recognition has direct applications in the context of COO (And  hn et al. 2016b). Thus, this lateral application of the psychology of learning can serve to resolve the issue of explicit brand origin recognition.

Consider the following statement from Samiee et al (2005): "If brand origin plays a salient role in consumers' everyday judgments and decision-making processes, it would be expected that consumers would possess reasonably accurate abilities to recognize brands' COs [Countries of Origin]" (p 392). While this statement appears to be valid, a thorough consideration of the idea reveals it is misguided given the long-standing and firmly established understanding of attitude formation and decision making as contingent on unconscious processes. Though very recent

contributions still suggest ideas, such as “...even if they know the origin of a product, consumers are sometimes found to lack the intention to use this information in their product judgements” (Thøgersen et al., 2017; 550), or overtly focus on conscious recollection of the decision making process pertaining to COO (Balabanis and Diamantopoulos, 2008), COO research urgently needs to focus on actual decisions instead of attitudes and self-reports. Efforts in that direction are still few and far between (see Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2017) but laudable. However, the entire field would be well served to transcend the cognition-centric orientation to embrace more diverse methods to tackle the longstanding issues of COO highlighted in this study.

Conscious awareness of being affected by COO is not necessarily even a close proxy to the entire scope of possibilities that yield a situation in which a consumer has actually been affected. Here, we encounter a central issue with many of the arguments that have been leveraged against the relevance of the COO in the past: the failure of consumers to generally be able to accurately account for the correct origin of commodities (e.g., Samiee et al., 2005). Given that place associations need not be consciously retrievable for consumers, a test of brand origin recognition accuracy emerges as an imperfect means of determining whether a COO effect can or has occurred. For example, consumers would not need to be consciously aware of a specific brand’s (country of) origin in order to unconsciously infer characteristics from a place when evaluating the brand (Fitzsimons et al., 2002). Though this may be a case of misclassification, it can still be said that an effect has occurred (see Magnusson et al., 2011). Non-classification, at the level of influence on the unconscious learning and its subsequent implicit use during decision making, can simply not be disproven by a failed origin recognition report. This is because the basis for decision making is (i) largely unconscious, and (ii) typically leaves us unaware of factors that went into making the decision itself. The exception to the rule is when we engage conscious faculties in a situation of cognitive elaboration, i.e. when a commodity is overtly and explicitly identified as associated to a place and this association is leveraged in subsequent decision making. However, applying this alternative explanatory model to the understanding of COO does not unequivocally support the relevance of the effect, as it also reveals several shortcomings in this research stream. Most significantly, it highlights the need for alternative methodologies, as the traditional attitude-based inquiry only partially reflects the basis for decisions and are even less accurate in predicting actual consumer behaviour (see Ajzen, 1991). The need for

methodologies that acknowledge COO as an unconscious influence has practical relevance and is a longstanding issue in COO research.

Another highly relevant problem related to the traditional methods applied in the study of COO is the application of so called “pro-discovery designs” (Samiee, 2011), such as the use of “single cue” studies that overemphasize origin as a stimulus (Bilkey and Nes, 1982). Simply put, many COO studies suffer from the problem of presenting “origin” in an experimental setting that does not correspond to how consumers would encounter it in most consumption situations. In effect, they over-present origin. There are recent research examples in which respondents were primed and/or instructed in a manner reflecting the situation in the marketplace. Attempts to avoid co-presenting place and commodity artificially have been minor in some cases, such as using a combination of sequencing and distraction tasks (see Andéhn et al., 2016a), and more elaborate in other cases, like an implicit associations test (Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2013). While it is encouraging that researchers are cognizant of this problem, the latter study is an elegant and long-overdue attempt to address a longstanding and fundamental problem of COO, although much remains to be done.

Approaches commonly used to date, at best, account for how the understanding of a place comes into play during an evaluation of a commodity in a particular situation. This evaluation occurs in the form of conscious deliberation, which, as we have seen, is not the mode of engagement in which the majority of decisions are made. Furthermore, these methods do not account for the propensity of place association cues to be noticed and processed in a relevant consumption situation. The apparent solution is to employ controlled field studies in which manipulations can be deployed under realistic conditions. There will likely come a point when the cultural understanding of provenance (Amine, 2008) will need focused attention, as the question arises: is provenance simply the same as leveraging association to generate a holistic estimate of quality to consumers? If not, should provenance be treated as a special case of association? These under-explored issues lie beneath the surface as an implicit assumption of any study assigning significance to origin. For instance, it is interesting and yet methodologically challenging to examine whether consumers can be convinced of accepting a “new” origin in lieu of an old one

through managerial intervention (the acquisition of Sweden's Volvo by China's Geely is a relevant case in point; see Bartikowski and Cleveland, 2017).

In short, our critical examination of the nature of origin and the associations it entails has revealed that any “objective” definition of "origin" is an inferior predictor as compared to perceived association. As suggested by Roth and Romeo (1992), a country’s reputation for excellence in the production of a particular commodity becomes a pertinent piece of information only to the extent that it is a perceived one. This “perception” can take the form of an unconscious bias that may exert a tremendous influence on consumer decision making without buyers being explicitly aware of it. As attitude formation and decision making are largely the result of unconscious processes and, following theories of memory as spreading activation, “origin” is ultimately a semantically potent prompt of association that guides attitude formation, it is likely that COO is relevant in influencing consumption in ways for which commonly employed designs fail to account. This discussion thus implies that COO research should not only account for variability in association strength but also consider methods that have the potential to capture the reality of unconscious processes and decision making in most cases. We argue that consideration of the following scaffolded procedural steps in research design may potentially enhance research that addresses research design issues:

- Explore the wider meaning of place association in the context of globalization.
- Consider methods that have the potential to capture unconscious processes.
- Examine counter-intuitive means by which place associations are formed.
- Account for association strength variability.

So far, we have explored the object of COO, the commodity, and the effect it exerts. We have also discussed the nature of association that prompts the effect. The last piece of this conceptual puzzle is the source of the content of these associations: the place, which together with its properties - a particularly potent source of associations – are critically examined in the next section.

Refining “Place”

The problem of place

Although the statement that COO deals with an association between place and commodity may appear redundant, it can be argued that research on COO to date has fallen victim to an overspecialization that makes complete abstraction of a central tenet of the effect: that in fact, COO owes its power to a particularity of places and not of countries (see Papadopoulos et al., 2012; Josiassen et al., 2013). This is hardly surprising in the context of significant focus on the pivotal role of places pointed out by philosophers of geography in studies on the role of place in human understanding (Casey, 1993). The primacy of place might be part of the explanation as to why COO seems to bypass mitigation even in the face of attempts to minimize its influence, as highlighted in this observation by Thøgersen et al. (2017: 554): “....these US consumers preferred fresh broccoli imported from Canada, followed by Mexico and last China. Even after adding information about the certification standards for imported organic products, none of the imported alternatives could compete...”

In spite of the apparent validity of assuming that place constitutes the key ingredient of what makes COO exert its influence and the fact that some impactful works have examined COO when it is sourced from a place other than a country, such as a region (Van Ittersum et al., 2003) or a city (Lentz et al., 2006), countries still constitute the overwhelming majority of places used in COO studies (this differs from research in tourism, which often focuses on areas within countries and will be noted below). It is certainly not controversial to state that there are good reasons for this country-centric approach to origin research. Countries and indeed nation-states have historical importance as a category of places that guide our understanding of the world. Although “country” is a construct of Western imagination originating in ancient Latin, it should not be overlooked as a category. Perhaps the problem in circumscribing COO is not in overstating the importance of countries and their images in the context of consumption, but rather the relative dearth of research on other types of places and the particularity of place as a concept. In most COO research to date, the source of COO is generally referred to as a country image (see Lu et al., 2016 for a comprehensive review). Origin also intersects with other implicitly place-contingent properties such as globalness (Winit et al., 2014) or foreignness (Batra, et al., 2000).

Finally we should also investigate the basis of the importance of place itself, which, as has been noted in numerous place studies, exerts a profound effect on our understanding of virtually anything in the world around us, as well as of ourselves.

The problem of directionality in COO

Accounts of country image in the literature cover a plethora of potential factors that contribute to its formation. For instance, they include the so-called “inverse” COO (White, 2012), which identifies the potential of products to exert an effect back on the place with which they are associated. Similarly, Krishnan (1996) observed that brand associations are the antecedents of brand equity and that COO is derived from association to place in a manner that makes it possible to understand the relative importance of origin amongst the many factors that constitute brand equity. Several studies have recently been published on the formation of place image and the interacting roles of COO with, for instance, tourism (Elliot and Papadopoulos, 2016; Ryu et al., 2016) or the use of food and gastronomy as a device to promote and brand cities (see Berg and Sevón, 2014), and place branding as an increasingly common practice (Lucarelli and Berg, 2011). Clearly, place image is now acknowledged in multiple literature streams contingent upon, among other things, the commodities associated with it.

There is some tangential potential for understanding entire categories of geographies as contingent on their role in what L’Espeir Decosta and Andéhn (2018) called “product geography,” where interrelation becomes the basis for the symbolic orders that underscore commercial relations. For instance, the competitiveness of a vineyard is derived as a function of its relation to other similar places. In addition, this category-specific emergence of place image can help further the understanding of peculiar discrepancies of outcome (see Deshpandé, 2010) in how place mythologies are not only used to market commodities but also in how this practice reflects back on the place in question (L’Espeir Decosta & Andéhn, 2018). This consideration has been applied on different levels of place as a general sense-making device, such as in destination promotional materials (Zhang et al., 2015) that transcend both Western and Asian markets, or media events in Eastern Europe that remain relevant to audiences at the furthest reaches of the region (Andéhn and Zenker, 2015). This same multi-level inter-relational approach to understanding places through media and commercially motivated communication also applies

to most commercial functions of places, even though certain contexts may trigger a variety of specific associations. For instance, understanding Croatia in terms of its political history is vastly different if one compares it to Norway versus its neighbour and fellow republic under the ex-Yugoslavia, Serbia. Similarly, evaluating the same place as a tourist destination or as a source for fashion products renders different outcomes. This leads to the consideration of a unique characteristic of place itself: the many layers to its meaning. Here we find not only some of the most commonly employed, and arguably refutable, arguments against COO being relevant, such as consumers not knowing or caring about the [spatial] origin of a product, but we also catch a hinting towards the particularity of places as a class of symbols apart from others in central ways.

The problem of the symbolic nature of place

In influential phenomenological accounts of geographical understanding, place is often understood as distinct from space; i.e., the definition of place is space with assigned meaning through experience (Tuan, 1977). Through human intervention we also find places, not truly spaces, being robbed of their particular meaning. The result is instead a condition called “placelessness” (Relph, 1976), such as stretches of highway or uniformly designed airport lounges. These non-descript places are mere spaces symbolic of attributes and characteristics they purport to represent; for example, “just lounges”. Conversely, when extrapolating this line of reasoning, the same commercial symbols, product categories, service traditions, brands or food specialties can, through their own *implacement* (Casey, 1993), make them viable for enjoying a COO that exerts a similar effect back on the place. Following Casey’s (1993) application of the concept of *implacement* as a mutual effect exerted between the “implaced” object and the place itself, as well as the nature of association-based understanding, we can introduce some practical aspects of the use of place in marketing.

Before we get to how places interact with commodities we need to first account for certain factors. First, the “place” concept itself is a universal symbolic order to human beings, as it is a pivotal sense making device (Tuan, 1977). Second, this symbolic ordering of places is anything but universal, as any given place meaning is invariably socially constructed in processes that render no two understandings of a particular place fully identical. The latter observation would hold true for any manner of symbol. Unsurprisingly, this universal symbolic ordering that place

provides also produces some interesting corollaries. For instance, there has been significant inquiry into the issue of place attachment (e.g., Lewicka, 2011), as well as the constituent role of place meaning in defining the self and the other. This variegated aspect of place can have direct pertinence in the meaning assigned to consumption (Sherry, 2000), such as in the case of consumer preference in the context of xenocentric/ethnocentric orientation (Batra et al., 2000). Furthermore, while place in the context of COO pertains to identity for those who live there, it is almost invariably abstract due to its scale (i.e. region or country level). Exceptions naturally apply where the sense of place is more direct (as in the wine region of Bordeaux exuding and featuring its sense of terroir). However, the result of this abstraction is that place meaning takes on a mythological nature because the purpose of myths is to address paradoxes of human ambivalence. For instance, Connor (1994) argues that nations are themselves best understood as myths per se.

The recent nationalistic tendencies in Europe and the United States make the study of COO not only especially relevant but also move COO further away from any objective properties or, indeed, any factor that deviates meaningfully from the realm of social construction. As such, place emerges as a universally meaningful symbol, identifiable by its role in a system, or geography; a role that provides it with readily available meaning, but meaning that must always be understood as contingent by comparison to other places. The case of France, with its hedonic products (wine, perfume) and utilitarian products (automobiles, electronics and industrial machinery) illustrates the relationships between specific product categories and place, as well as this principle. France has a strong positive association in an overwhelming majority of cases with regard to hedonic products (Amine, 2008), but this is not true when it comes to utilitarian products. We can therefore conclude that the gestalt evoked by the signifier “France” has different connotations for these two product categories. Conversely, the place “Germany” emerges as the opposite of France in this utilitarian/hedonic matrix.

The problem of mythology of places

Mythology associated with a place is an interesting problem in COO research. Research to date has almost invariably drawn from mythologies of production. In other words, COO is thought to draw from mythologies and narratives that treat the place as a productionscape, such as the

“terroir” for wine, cheese and meat, or a place where engineering excellence in automobile production has a long historical tradition. Some research, however, has approached the commercial relevance of place from a consumptionscape perspective (Karababa and Ger, 2010), whereby the mythology of a product’s place association is anchored in its consumption. For example, a traditional Thai massage parlour constitutes a clear engagement with a place mythology that is exported all over the world but does not overtly draw on the mythology of a distant productionscape. Indeed, the “product” is a form of medicinal and cultural service that is recreated as and within a service-consumptionscape in places as disparate as Stockholm and Montevideo. Again, this involves a greater degree of complexity that primarily reveals fissures in what was believed to be, up to now, precise COO research. However, doing away with some orthodox renderings of places as unified constructs based solely on mythologies of production, can lead to a possible solution. We propose instead that there is fertile ground in (i) extending the role of place to encompass more aspects of consumption – such as a situationally driven propensity of wanting to engage with a cultural particularity (for instance having English tea), and (ii) viewing the meaning of place as contingent upon the context in which it is evoked, such as the difference between cooking an Italian recipe at home versus going to an authentic Italian restaurant.

The problem of compound images

The above explanation follows the spreading activation theory of memory (Anderson, 1983), i.e., that we are in fact encountering sets of associations linked to what can be understood as compound images, such as “France-wine” or “France-automobiles.” These images can be fundamentally different from each other, and from the images evoked by “France.” The implications of this difference would be, first, an explanation of why category-place matches appear to exert the strongest form of COO (Josiassen et al., 2013; Andéhn et al., 2016a). In addition, the difference would also lend support to a critical understanding of the value of studying country images on a general level for the purpose of predicting the potential of COO. This suggests that efforts relying on a unified account of specific places as a predictor of COO may have been misguided. At the very least, we have created a situation in which an initial conceptual insistence has led to suboptimal scopes of variance being explained in extant models.

This compound-based route to understanding place-commodity interrelation delves even further into the realm of abstract symbolism, once the link between spatiality and place is critically examined. An interesting critical examination of places, particularly in the context of their commercial use, has identified place with a certain ephemeral or “phantasmal” property (see Gao et al., 2013). As spatial properties are not contingencies of place, places can therefore be completely mythological; i.e., lacking a true, or even approximate, territorial correlate and containing characteristics of both diachronic and synchronic nature (Levi-Strauss, 1978). For instance, Valhalla, El Dorado, Santa's Workshop or Shangri-La are all mythological places that have been provided post-hoc spatialities for the purpose of attracting tourists (e.g., Kolås, 2004) and could be just as readily appropriated to evoke COOs. On a humorous note, one may speculate that COOs from these places would be as commercially potent as they would be confusing to international trade legislators. As these examples apply to COO, places need not be, nor are they necessarily ever, more than mythological objects. A toponym is thus, strangely enough, best understood as a *signifier for itself* and its nested mythologies, rather than as a precise denomination or semantic for a specific spatiality. In other words, all places have mythological properties of semiological significance to which a place image can be anchored.

In short, this critical conceptual discussion of the particularity of places, the third constituent factor affected by COO, reveals that although countries are perhaps the most potent symbolic forms of place, they are only one potential source of COO. Thus, place mythologies as a symbolic rendition of place extend beyond their role as sites of production to embrace consumption in its broadest sense. By viewing the source of COO as the result of a compound image specific to the evaluation situation rather than from a general place image, we can explain category-specific effects. Finally, we argue that place association is a particular and perhaps exceptionally potent form of association and that the scope of COO extends in palpable ways to place management. If COO research is broadened beyond a country-centric approach, further integration of place branding, tourism, regional development and COO literature would be made possible. These specific contexts will thus facilitate investigations into how consumers come to understand places in relation to the object under evaluation as a precursor to COO.

Conclusion: Re-imagining the country-of-origin effect

By relying on a thorough critical discussion of the problematics of the three constituent parts of COO in extant literature, this conceptual study has uncovered the following gaps:

- (i) General endogenous constructs do not readily capture meanings engaged in COO. In fact, COO can take forms that are not necessarily meaningful to measure as a linear property across several individuals.
- (ii) The attitude-behaviour divide and the implications of unconscious processing limit the accuracy of commonly employed attitude measurement designs in COO research.
- (iii) Any strict treatment of places as spatialities in COO research fails to recognize their phenomenological nature and to fully account for their symbolic significance.

The dialectics we have used throughout this study allow us to propose actionable suggestions at theoretical, methodological and managerial levels to each of the critical observations about the three components of COO. Together, the arguments we presented constitute a re-evaluation of COO. Based on the simplified COO model in Figure 1, this paper proposes, through the process of promulgation, a new perspective that captures the different components for a reimagined COO. Table 1 summarizes and extrapolates each of the components of this reimagined COO, and their relationships to each other, with row identifiers corresponding to the letters in the framework as identified earlier in Figure 1. Our hope is that the granulation of these properties in Table 1 would provide sufficient reasons and inspiration to give voice to varied, but up to now underrepresented, perspectives to the field.

TABLE 1 HERE

Following calls in many studies to examine the relevance of COO research in practice, we herein conclude that COO represents an important factor in various facets of understanding consumption. However, the critical discussions throughout this paper reveal there is a need to further develop the understanding of the effect at the policy level. In other words, it is time to include qualitative research questions worthy of our interest, such as: How do consumers infer association? How do they come to understand places in ways that are relevant in the context of COO? How do they engage in place mythologies in their consumption practices (see Karababa and Ger, 2010)? As well, we highlight the need for the field to commit to studies that would address these questions. The seemingly obvious answers to these questions involve embracing alternative research approaches, including field experiments, ethnographic inquiry and the case method that have clear and novel theoretical and/or methodological implications. However, it is insufficient to merely replicate similar studies in order to demonstrate the existence of a COO for product X in country Y. We need more practical applications to enhance investigations about how place associations serve as resources, living political and cultural assemblages or even as problems in the context of COO. For instance, it could become important to know under what circumstances the inference of general product quality is dispelled in favour of some cultural particularity that can be described as ironic consumption. Can export flows be traced back to market origin? And in view of the recent political events in the Western world, what does political turbulence do to the reputation of places (in all of their renditions)?

Theoretical implications

This study also infers that associations to places have the potential of significantly influencing consumption in ways that go beyond what can be described as “effects.” This is because places are multifaceted and complex symbolic entities that depend greatly on the context of their evocation in their effects on consumption. These “effects” should be defined not only as direct linear influences, exerting an influence on reported perceived quality, or purchase intentions. They can also effectively be extended to accounts of how culture impact upon how consumers engage with commodities. This is not new per se. However, this observation represents highly relevant but till now underexplored aspects underlying our understanding of COO. This study initiates the promulgation of knowledge from other relevant disciplines spanning consumer culture theory in marketing, cognitive psychology and phenomenological geography, all of which

have the potential to refine and extend extant COO knowledge and research on the influence of a place-association.

In our view, it is clear that COO exerts a palpable influence on consumption and globalization has not eroded the relevance of COO as a driver of consumption, but has instead revealed that some of the implicit assumptions in COO research to date are due for critical reassessment. Thus, it is important that future research addresses questions related to how “COO may act as an affect-laden, ‘value-expressive’ or ‘self-image’ attribute” (Sharma, 2011: 349). In fact, though (anti)globalization engages with the spatial logic of internationalization, it does little to dispel the mythologies of the commercial place-world from which COO draws. The place-world is a dynamic and complex set of symbols, and its constitutive properties for COO merit increased multi- and interdisciplinary attention. In addition, the finer points of association may be better explored through questions such as: “what is the psychological basis of abstraction of space into place?” and “how can we draw an account of the particularity of place from this perspective?” While COO research has occasionally made forays into the technical and psychological aspects of the effect, it has still not come into its own at the methodological level in a manner that engages such questions in a convincing way.

Methodological implications

To address the direct effects of COO we propose controlled field experiments as a relatively unexplored methodological option in COO research. For example, it would serve to examine purchasing behaviour in a food retail environment in which place cues have been manipulated. Such a design would account for the use of a specific origin cue affecting an actual purchase decision as opposed to only those that can be consciously retrieved (see also And  hn et al., 2016b).

Similarly, the analytical level also presents ample opportunity for innovation in the context of COO research. One example is to see whether threshold effects can be observed where place association exerts its effect as an alternative to analytical procedures that assume a linear relationship in how COO exerts its influence. An even more promising avenue is the potential of ethnographic approaches to outline how the effect manifests itself as a factor in the meaning

assigned to places that emerge from unexpected motivations behind the consumption of placed commodities. In other words, how is place meaning leveraged to enact ritualistic consumption behaviour of, for instance, Italian wines or American motorcycles? Or, how are these rituals transformed as they are enacted across contexts?

Along similar lines, to identify more appropriate constructs and concepts of meaning relevant to the consumption of implaced product mythologies, we need to approach COO using ethnography-inspired modes of inquiry to ensure that these concepts are reflectively emic. For example, to better understand the consumption of implaced commodities, it is imperative that consumption is not only targeted by group-based inferential techniques that only draw from self-report measurement. To this end, we also suggest, beyond field studies and qualitative methods, a refinement of “lab”-style research with stronger controls and tests such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT), a widely used method in psychology for assessing implicit bias and prejudice. Such an approach presents possible solutions of more liberal scope of applications to the various methodological concerns facing COO research.

To capture the broader implications of COO beyond consumer preference formation, we also propose that the field engage in comparative studies at the levels of country/region/province/state, etc. to determine, for example, whether the perceptual effect exerted by COO emerges as a central predictor in contexts such as industrial development and export competitiveness. For example, can we demonstrate a link between provenance-based branding and capital returning to the region? Or, what are the conditions required for COO to serve as a viable means to regional development in struggling rural communities? Finally, to encompass the phenomenological nature of places in COO studies, we suggest the field extend its research to examine (i) means of associating commodities to, for instance, mythological places and, (ii) the implications of place meaning being situated in the toponym itself. For example, how significant is the evocation of Shangri-La in conveying the promise of a blissful stay in the luxurious Shangri-La hotels? On the other hand, would products from Tibet, the imagined place of the Shangri-La, convey the “nirvanic” properties of the evocation of the place? The COO intersects a plethora of such interesting managerial problems, and as this special issue demonstrates, it is now an appropriate

time to broaden the scope of this research stream to include the various overlapping areas of commercial issues that are pertinent to the understanding of COO.

Managerial implications

There is a direct and palpable benefit for the understanding of COO to be gained from further lateral application of knowledge from various adjoining disciplines beyond marketing. For instance, from a human geography perspective, destination managers may be made cognizant of the significance of individual experience as a determinant of place meaning, to complement the image constructs usually employed in marketing research (Tuan, 1977). Furthering knowledge about how, when and why consumers are affected by association between a commodity and a place is at this point the most readily available path to further applicable knowledge on COO writ large. It should be noted that many of these are questions of an exploratory nature, best suited to interpretivist approaches, that can reveal the shifting nature and complexities of a dynamic field that is fortunately aware (consider for instance this special issue) that it risks reaching a dead-end, if it has indeed not already reached it.

Suggestions for further studies

This critical study has revealed that COO research should extend beyond application and consider the consequences and impacts of marketing as knowledge that is not subordinate to matters of application by addressing how “...broad topical concerns link different consumer research traditions and enable consumer researchers to poach and cross-fertilize ideas, methods, and contexts...” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 876). Very little exists in terms of a more critical engagement with COO, albeit with some exceptions (see O’Shaughnessy and O’Shaughnessy, 2000). Indeed, COO can be compared to an informal de facto tariff or a mechanism by which more affluent countries – or countries with more successful public diplomacy efforts – gain an advantage over emerging and less developed economies. The argument that COO also exerts an effect back on places, with their diverse array of stakeholders, is another overlooked aspect of the effect. Questions like “How does the effect influence decisions that are political and/or pertain to macro-level trade?” become highly relevant.

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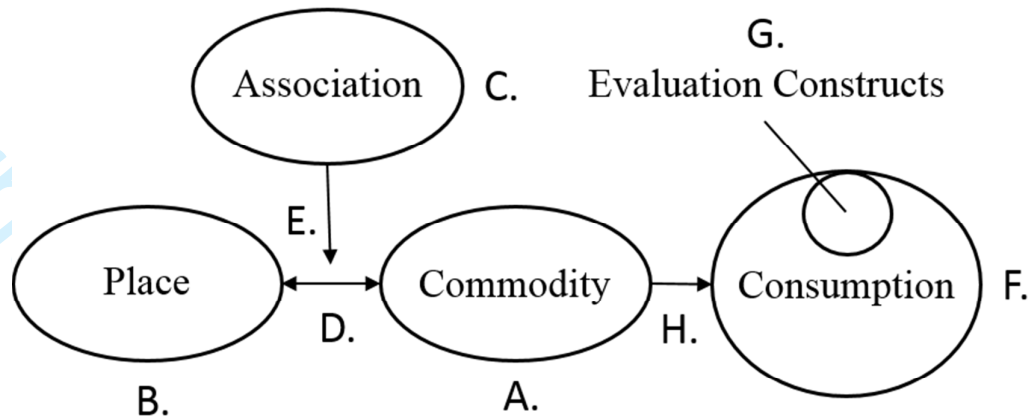


Figure 1. Baseline model of the country-of-origin effect, the relationship between place, commodity, association and consumption and their outcome as it pertains to consumption. The letters next to the constructs and the relationships between them are explained in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary table, explication of all interrelations proposed in figure 1 above.

The Country-of-Origin Effect	
Components (see Figure 1)	Component properties
A. Commodity	Can be any consumable objects [e.g. Products, (Bilkey & Nes, 1982)], including ones that are intangible [e.g. Services, (Javalgi et al., 2001)] strictly symbolic [e.g. Brands, (Thakor and Kohli, 1996)] and beyond.
B. Place	Places are symbols (McCracken, 1988), understood through meaning assignment via experience (Tuan, 1977) and subject to relative ordering into geographies. In turn, this ordering can derive from other symbols like commodities cf. wine or coffee and expressed in a product geography (L’Espoir Decosta and Andéhn, 2018).
C. Perceived Associations	Association, the basis of brand equity (Keller, 1993), variable by degree (Andéhn and L’Espoir Decosta, 2016), strengthened by co-occurrence, weakened by occurrence by either of the two without the other (see Hebb, 1949; also Hayek 1952).
D. Commodity-Place	Provenance as a particular form of association is particularly potent for inferring meaning. Provenance is completely decoupled from any spatial criterion in determining origin (Magnusson et al., 2011). Attitudes about the place can affect evaluation even without the consumer being explicitly aware of the attitude (Herz and Diamantopoulos, 2013).
E. Association Moderator	Association should be treated as a moderator. It represents a necessary but insufficient condition for the COE to occur. Association predicts the degree by which a perception of a place affects the perception of a commodity (Andéhn and L’Espoir Decosta, 2016).
F. Consumption	Should be considered as encompassing far more than that its mere typical meaning. Consumption that may be influenced by COO includes engagement with commodities in the broadest sense (see for instance Ostberg, 2011; also Kravetz, 2012).
G. Evaluation Constructs	Some established evaluation construct include but are not limited to quality perceptions (Bilkey and Nes, 1982), purchase intentions (Verleghe and Steenkamp, 1999) and/or brand equity (Keller, 1993).
H. Commodity-to-Consumption	A multifaceted influence that can prompt consumption in many different ways. Should be thought of as initiating a complex engagement between symbols instead of simply driving purchases or attitude formation.